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173 story tellers or that the Creeks were able to record historical events in some relatively permanent manner. The first would at the outset appear the more probable explanation; but we know from several [211] sources that these tribes had mnemonic devices similar to quipus, and it is therefore possible that the movement took place along the line laid out. Certainly this earliest narrative localizes much more closely than any of the legends recorded later. Gatschet missed much of its value by thinking of the Kasihta and Coweta as two among 40 [101] or 50 coordinate bodies, while in fact Kasihta and Coweta represented, in early times, the entire Muskogee element among the Lower Creeks, and the Abihka and Coosa the bodies of Muskogee from which most of the Upper Creeks originated.[17] This legend therefore involves the origin of the greater part of the Muskogee people.

Adair speaks several times of Indian traditions of a western origin, but usually he has in mind the Chickasaw. However, he says in one place that the Muskogee "believe their original predecessors came from the west, and resided under ground," [18] and by "predecessors" here he evidently intends ancestors.

173 534 Another long version of the legend is contained in a work by Gen. Milfort,[19] who claims to have lived among the Creeks from 1776 to 1796, and to have been made "tastanégy ou grand Chef de guerre de la nation Crëck."[20] We know that there was no such position as "grand war chief of the Creek nation," every town having had its own tástánagis and its head tástánagi. Still, under McGillivray, with whom Milfort claims to have been associated, a kind of despotism existed under which a friend of the Creek leader might have been advanced to considerable power. Though Milfort's work is written in an intensely egotistical vein and contains numerous exaggerations and misstatements it is evidently founded on fact. The migration legend which it reproduces is probably correct in fundamentals, but Milfort has identified rivers and other geographical features in such a reckless manner that he carries the Creeks over a large part of the central United States and into places where the nation was scarcely known even by name. The legend is probably a form of the version current at Otciapofa, McGillivray's home town, and has especial interest for that reason. It is as follows:

"When the Spaniards conquered Mexico everyone knows that this fair country of North America was inhabited by a gentle and peaceable people which, having no knowledge of firearms, was easily subjugated. It had only courage and numbers to oppose to the murderous arms of its enemies; in a word, it was defenceless; for

[17] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 215–254.

[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 208.

[19] Mémoire ou Coup-d'Oeil Rapide sur mes differéns voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Crëck. Paris, 1802.

[20] On the title page of Milfort's work.

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One of these two
moieties was called Hathagálgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanálgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafáskálgi, which is, however, applied to the tástánágálgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagálgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askā'málgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tági or Hola'tálgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagálgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste.

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans.

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the

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same time from what town or towns each clan was reported. Numbers after the W and Tc tell how the clans were associated in phratries within the town, the 1's being in one phratry, the 2's in another, and so on.

Tabulation of Creek Towns, Clans, and Moieties

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Talladega	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	W	W		W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc.
Abihka-in-the-West	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(1)	Tc(4)	
Kan-tcati	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Otciapofa	W(1)	W(2)		Tc(3)		Tc(4)	W(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Tulsa Little River	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)		Tc(5)	W(5)	?(6)	Tc(7).
Lutcapoga	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(6)	?(7).
Okfuskee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	Tc(9).
Tcatoksofka	W	W	W	W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Nuyaka	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Talmutcasi	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Pakan tallahassee	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6?).
Wiogufki	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W?(2)	Tc(3)	W?(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Tukpafka	W		W			Tc	Tc	Tc	
Asilanabi	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)
Okchai (probably same connections).	W	W	W	W	W	Tc		Tc	Tc.
Łálogálga	?					?		?	
Wiwohka	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	(?5)	?(6)	?(7 perhaps 6).
Tuskegee	W(1)	W(2)	?(3)	W(4)	Tc?(4)		Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc?(6).
Koasati No. 2	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2).

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Snake
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W							
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati		Tc(8)						
Otciapofa		Tc(8)	W(9)	Tc(10)				
Tulsa Little River		?(8)	?(5)		Tc(5)	?(3)	Tc(9)(?)	
Lutcapoga		?(6)		?(4)	?(7)	?(7)		
Okfuskee		Tc(8)	Tc(6)	Tc(5)			Tc(5)	
Tcatoksofka						W	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(2)	Tc(7)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(7)	Tc(7)	Tc(4)	
Nuyaka								
Talmutcasi		?						
Pakan tallahassee	W(2)			W(2?)			W(2?)	
Wiogufki		Tc(5)		W?(3)	Tc(6)		W?(2)	Tc(2).
Tukpafka		Tc						
Asilanabi		Tc(4)		Tc(2)			Tc(2)	
Okchai (probably same connections).				W			W	
Łálogálga								
Wiwohka	?(3)	?(6)	?(4)	?(3)	?(6)		?(3)	?(3).
Tuskegee		Tc(6)		Tc(4)				
Koasati No. 2								

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Fox	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Otter	Tco-wasta	Tapa-sola
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)								
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati								
Otciapofa								
Tulsa Little River					?(9)	Tc(10)		
Lutcapoga							?(1)	
Okfuskee								
Tcatokpofka								
Abihkutci	Tc(7)	Tc?(7)	W(1)	Tc?(5)	Tc(6)			
Nuyaka								
Tamutcasi								
Pakan tallahassee			W(1)		Tc(4)			
Wiogufki								
Tukpafka								
Asilanabi						W(2)?		
Okchai (probably same connections)								
Lalogiga							?(6)	
Wiwohka			?(1)		?(5)			
Tuskegee					Tc(5)			
Kosati No. 2								Tc(2).

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Tukabahchee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(6).
Atasi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3?)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8).
Kealedji	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	W(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(4).
Laplike	W(1)	Tc(2)	W(2?)	W(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Liwahali	W	W	W		Tc?	Tc	Tc		Tc.
Hilibi		W(1)	W(2)	?	Tc(3)	Tc(4) [W(4) (J. L.)]		Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Eufaula (Upper)	W(1)	W(2?)	W(2?)	W(?)	W(6)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)[1]	Tc(5)	Tc(5).
Alabama	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(5)	Tc(3?) W[2]	Tc(4)	Tc(2)		Tc(4).
Alabama in Texas	?(1)	?(2)		?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tami	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Tukabahchee		Tc(8)		Tc(4)		Tc(7)	Tc(4)	Tc(8).
Atasi		Tc(7?)		Tc(4?)			Tc(4)	
Kealedji	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(4)			Tc(4)	Tc(7).
Laplike		Tc(7)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)		Tc(3)	
Liwahali								?
Hilibi	W(1)	Tc(8)		Tc(3)			Tc(3)	
Eufaula (Upper)	W	Tc(5)		W(6)			W(6)	
Alabama							Tc(3?)	
Alabama in Texas	?(4)						?(3)	

[1] Formerly it is said to have been White.

[2] According to Billy Yahola.

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Wokxi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łädjämi	Fish
Tukabahchee	Tc(4)	W(1)		Tc(6)				
Atasi								
Kealedji	Tc(4)	W(1)	Tc(7)				Tc(7)	
Łapłako				Tc(5)				
Ławahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)		W(1)						
Alabama				Tc(2)				
Alabama in Texas		?(1)		?(5)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Tcokote	Salt	Nokfaba	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapesofa
Tukabahchee								
Atasi								
Kealedji		Tc(7)						
Łapłako								
Ławahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)								
Alabama				W(2)				
Alabama in Texas				?(2)				?(3).

LOWER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Kasihta	W(1)	W(2)	W?	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(3)	Tc(3).
Hitchiti	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	W(3)	?(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)
Okmulgee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(2)	Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(6)	Tc(37).
Yuchi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(1)	Tc(1)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tami	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Kasihta	W(2)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)				Tc(3).
Hitchiti		Tc(6)	Tc(4)					
Okmulgee	W(2)	Tc(6)		Tc(4)				Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(2)	Tc(6?)		Tc(3)	Tc(3)		Tc(2)	
Yuchi	W(2)							

Town	Wokxi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łädjämi	Fish
Kasihta			Tc?(6)	Tc(5)?				W?(1).
Hitchiti			Tc(4)		Tc(3)			
Okmulgee				Tc(5)				
Apalachicola			Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)			
Yuchi		W(1)		Tc(1?)				W(4).

Town	Toad	Cane	Tcokote	Salt	Nokfaba	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapesofa
Kasihta								
Hitchiti								
Okmulgee								
Apalachicola	Tc?(4)							
Yuchi								

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Seminole NN16

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

LOWER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Coweta	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(4).
Likatcka	?	W			?	Tc	?		?.
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)	Tc(2)	?(3)	?(3)	W(4)	?(5)	?(5)	?(6)	?(4).
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	W(2?)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Osochi	?	?(1)	?	?	?	?	?(2)	?	?.

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Coweta		Tc(4)		Tc(4)				Tc(4).
Likatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(2)	?(6)	?(5)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	
Chiaha	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(5)				Tc(7).
Osochi	?(1)	?			?			?.

Town	Wokni	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjámi	Fish
Coweta				Tc(5)				
Likatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(4)	?(1)	?(1)	?(5)	?(4)	?(1)		
Chiaha		W(1)			Tc?(3?)			W?(?).
Osochi				?(2)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Tcokote	Salt	Nok-taha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapa-sola
Coweta								
Likatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)		?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	
Chiaha								
Osochi								

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Ochesee	W?(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	(W)(3?)	Tc(4).
Okfuskee	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(2)	?(5)	?(2)	?(4).
Tallahassutci	Tc(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6)		Tc(6).
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(3)	?(5)	?(5)		?(3).
Eufaula	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)		?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(7)	?(4).
Ziwahali	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(3)
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(3)	Tc (6)		Tc(7)	Tc(6).
Mikasuki		?		?	?		?		

1/ [For key to symbols, see pp. 157-158, category 116. -- Analyst

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NATURAL CLASSIFICATION OF CREEK TOWNS

Muskogee tribes: Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa (including (a) the Tulsa group and (b) the Okfuskee group), Abihka, Holiwahali (or Liwahali), Hilibi, Eufaula, Wakokai, several Muskogee tribes whose connection with the rest is uncertain, including Atasi, Kolomi, Kan-hatki, Fushatchee, Wiwohka, Kealedji, and tribes such as the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee, which seem not to have been constituted parts of the original body.

[344]

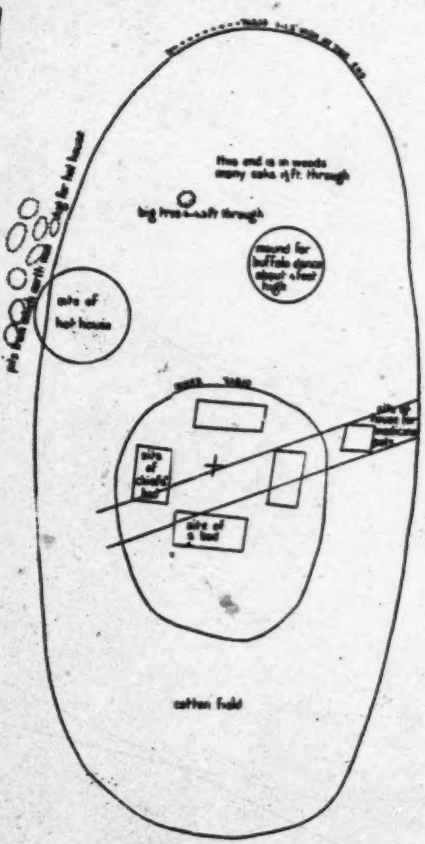

FIG. 69.—The old Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground near Maletta, Okla., as it appeared in 1913-14

Atcik hata (Hitchiti speaking tribes): Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Oconee, Apalachicola, Sawokli, Tamali, Chiaha.

Alabama.

Muklasa.

Koasati.

Tuskegee.

Yuchi.

Natchez.

Shawnee.

Tribes of uncertain connection: Osochi.

To these might almost be added the Chickasaw, since one band of Chickasaw lived with the Creeks for several years and they were all held to be of one fire with the Kasihta. According to the traditions given above the Kasihta and Coweta resulted from the segmentation of one original body, and it is probable that these and the next five towns in the above list were the original Muskogee speaking peoples in the confederacy. It seems likely that the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee were Muskogee in language but were late in uniting with the others. The Koasati were closely related by language with the Alabama, as was probably the case

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with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13]

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Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace,

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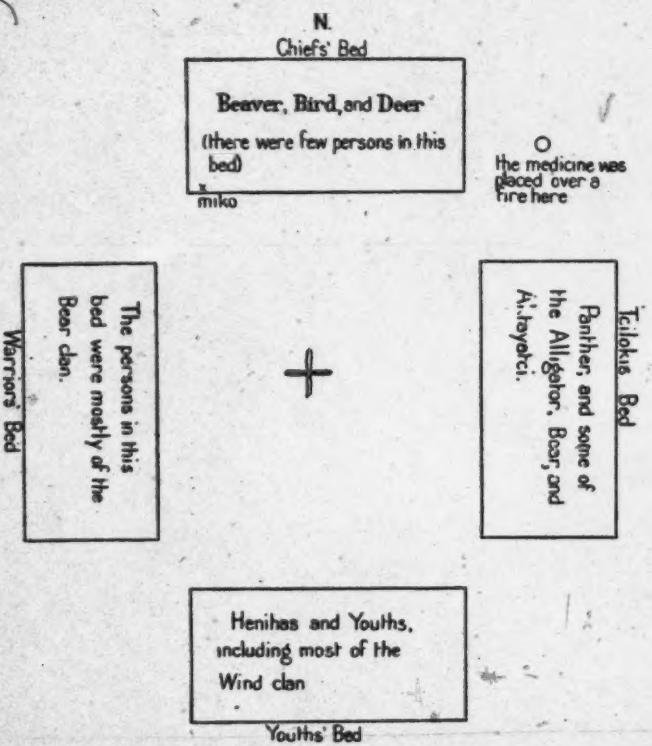
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Beaver, Bird, and Deer
(there were few persons in this bed)
miko
the medicine was placed over a fire here
Warriors' Bed
The persons in this bed were mostly of the Bear clan.
Tcilokis Bed
Panther, and some of the Alligator, Bear, and A'tayetci.
Henihas and Youths, including most of the Wind clan
Youths' Bed

FIG. 30.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

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[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26.

[13a] See pp. 196–197.

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[526]

The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

[344]

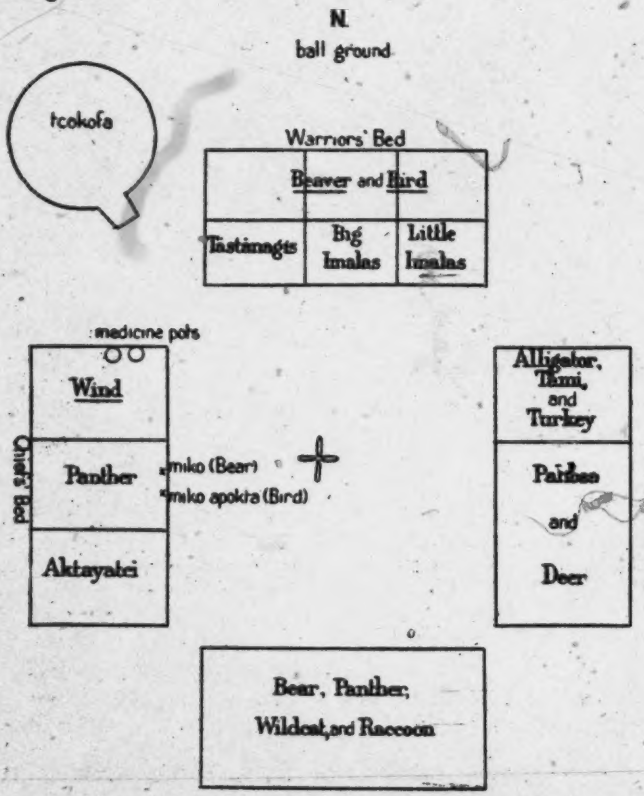

FIG. 55.—Plan of the Łapłáko Square Ground (I)

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Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with the best information available:

WHITE

Kasihta.
Apalachicola.
Hitchiti.
Sawokli.
Oknulgee.
Kawaigi.
Okitiyagana.
Yuchi.[20]
Coosa.
Otciapofa.
Tulsa Little River.
Tulsa Canadian.
Lutcapoga.
Okfuskee.
Tcatoksofka.
Abihkutci.
Nuyaka.
Abihka.
Abihka-in-the-West.
Talladega.
Kan-tcati.
Wakokai.
Wiogufki.
Tukpafka.
Wiwohka.
Pakan tallahassee.
Okchai.
Łálogálga.
Asilahabi.
Koasati (1 and 2).
Tuskegee.

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RED

Coweta.	Eufaula Hobayi.	Łapłáko.
Łikatcka.	Tukabahchee.	Hilibi.
Chiaha.[39]	Kealedji.	Kitcopataki.
Osochi.	Hatchee tcaba.	Tallahasutci or Sakapadai.
Hotalgihuyana.	Atasi.	Talmutcasi.
Eufaula.	Hollwahali.	Alabama.

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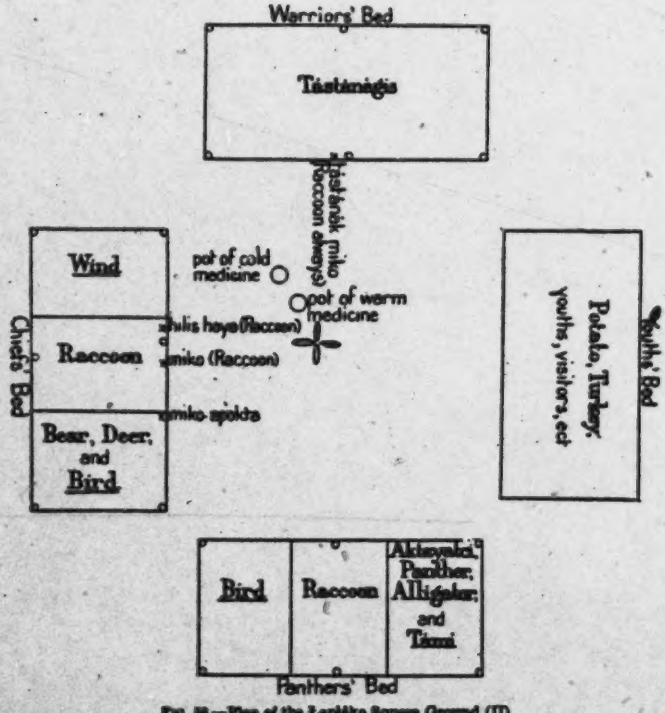

FIG. 18.—Plan of the Łapłáko Square Ground (II)

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This classification was in the main agreed to by everybody, but there were differences of opinion on minor points. One informant thought that Wiwohka used to play on either side indifferently, but others explained that this was only an appearance due to the number of persons who had married into the town from outside. Some said that Tallahasutci or Sakapadai belonged on the White side. Two informants thought that Koasati was a Red town, a conclusion which

[39] The relative position of Chiaha and Yuchi is confirmed by David Taitt who mentions a ball game May 3, 1725, in which the former defeated the latter (Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p 332).

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to the Seminole grounds, but information was obtained regarding one of these, Ochesee Seminole, which had been discontinued in 1912, when I visited the Seminole squares, but was afterwards revived.

In order to make the material obtained in 1929 intelligible, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the Creek political, social, and ceremonial organization.

The name Creek is a shortened form of Ochesee Creek Indians, a name which English traders from South Carolina came to apply to that part of the Indians of the Creek Confederation who were living upon Ocmulgee River in the closing decades of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth. The word Ochesee signifies "people of a different speech" in the language of the Hitchiti, one of the minor constituents of the Creek Confederacy, being equivalent to the word Tciloki in the Creek or Muskogee language. It was applied to the Creeks proper or Muskogee by the Hitchiti along with many other tribes, but came in some way to be particularly associated with the Muskogee and the river upon which they were then living.

Anciently there seems not to have been a single term applicable to all of the Muskogee, the latter name having been unknown to the Spaniards who first entered this section. It does not make its appearance until the English had settled in the Carolinas. The origin of the word is uncertain, but there are indications that it was derived from Shawnee, since a band of Shawnee lived for a time near what is now Augusta, Ga., and from a very early period occupied an intermediate position between South Carolina and Georgia on the one hand and the Creek Nation on the other. It is probable that there were originally several tribes speaking the same language but having separate names and that the necessity for a distinguishing term for all did not present itself until the number of non-Muskogee tribes in the Confederation came to be considerable. As to the names of these Muskogee tribes, we seem to have indications of the following: Abihka, Coosa, Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Hilibi, Eufaula, Kasihta and Coweta (or perhaps an original tribe of which the Kasihta and Coweta were sections). There were some other groups on the lower course of Tallapoosa River, such as the Atasi, Kealedji, and Kolomi, which cannot be definitely placed and may have been independent of these or early subdivisions of them. Of course some may represent people of wholly different connections who had become assimilated to the Muskogee and had lost their own language and customs. This is rendered probable from the fact that we have

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several actual cases of such assimilation in later times. However, so far as the tribes enumerated are concerned, this must always remain in doubt. 101 619

When the tribes of the Confederation first became known to white people, they were distributed geographically into two main sections to which the names Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks have become attached. The former were on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers and the upper course of Alabama River in the present state of Alabama, the latter on the lower and middle courses of the Chattahoochee, which now forms part of the boundary between Alabama and Georgia. It was this latter division principally which lived upon Ocmulgee River for a time and thus gave rise accidentally to the popular English name for the entire people. A minor division also existed between those Creeks living on the middle course of Coosa River and those centering about the lower Tallapoosa, the two being sometimes designated as Upper and Middle Creeks, respectively. In the distribution of the original Muskogee tribes, the Abihka and Coosa constituted the greater part of the Upper Creeks, while the Kasihta and Coweta were the dominating element among the Lower Creeks. The Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, Liwahali, Laplako, Kolomi, and a number of towns descended from the Coosa, including Otciapofa, the Tulsa towns, and the Okfuskee towns, besides several minor groups, formed the bulk of the Middle Creeks. The Eufaula had the distinction of being connected with all three. Their oldest seat seems to have been in the Upper Creek country; later they established themselves among the Middle Creeks and about the period of first white contact they formed a colony well down Chattahoochee River, among the Lower Creeks. To complete the story of their migrant habits, we may add that they seem to have furnished the first true Muskogee contingent to the Florida Seminole in the Red House or Tcuko Tcati Indians north of Tampa Bay.

Tradition seems to be borne out by circumstantial evidence in pointing to the Lower Creek country as that region in which the tribes in question began their federation. According to the story this had to do on the one hand with the division of the Muskogee into the Kasihta and Coweta and on the other with the relations between them and the non-Muskogee elements, particularly the Apalachicola. The relations of the Kasihta and Coweta to each other are somewhat uncertain, for while it is at times implied that they resulted from the fission of a single body of people, the most popular traditions speak of them as having come from the west 101 619 642

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as two distinct tribes and it is possible that the one-tribe idea may be the result of later rationalizing. The story goes that, having defeated all of their enemies, the Kasihta and Coweta instituted periodical ball games as a kind of "moral equivalent for war," and afterwards, when either of them established relations of friendship with other Indians, whether Muskogee or not, these Indians entered on the same side as their friends so that this dual system soon became general.

One of these sides, that of Kasihta, came to be known as the White or Peace side, though it did not receive that specific name; while the side of Coweta was the Red or War side.

At the same early period the Muskogee entered into intimate relations with the Apalachicola Indians, who spoke a dialect related to Hitchiti. This was the outgrowth of a treaty of peace following upon hostilities, or to avert threatened hostilities. The Apalachicola were then taken into the Confederation on the same side as Kasihta. In some particulars, however, they are held to have been more representative of the White towns than Kasihta and for that reason their settlement came to be called Tâlwa Łâko, "Big Town." Indeed, the migration legend related to Oglethorpe by Tchikilli implies that Kasihta was at least partly Red, their hearts being "red on one side and white on the other." However, in all later times Kasihta assumes the leadership of the White towns among the Lower Creeks, as does Coweta the leadership of the Red towns. Four having been the sacred number—the sacred formulae being gone through four times, four arbors or beds constituting the ceremonial buildings in the square ground and four sticks the number employed in the ceremonial fires—it is not surprising that the Creeks should select two towns from the Upper Creeks, taken collectively, to add to these two leading Lower Creek towns. The White towns of the Upper Creeks were represented by Abihka, the Red towns by Tukabahchee, the second being from that group I have called Middle Creeks, the other from the northernmost bounds of the Nation. These four towns were the "back sticks" of the Confederation, and each had a special ceremonial name, viz., Kasihta Łâko ("Big Kasihta"), Coweta Mahmayi ("Tall Coweta"), Tukabahchee Ispokogi, and Abihka Nâgi. Ispokogi was the name of the culture heroes of the Tukabahchee and it may be a Shawnee term. It bears a suspicious resemblance to that of the Kispokotha band of Shawnee. I do not know the meaning of Nâgi. The Abihka were also called specifically "the door-shutters" because they protected the northern frontier of the Confederation.

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In course of time the non-Muskogee element represented by the Apalachicola Indians was increased, first by other groups related to the last mentioned—such as the Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, and Tamali—who spoke closely related languages and called themselves Atcik-hata, a term said to have some reference to the ashes of the ceremonial fire in the square grounds. These Indians formed the greater part of the first Creek invaders of Florida who presently constituted the Seminole nation. The leading town in this southward movement was Oconee, almost certainly affiliated with the Atcik-hata, and the titular leadership among the Seminole remained with them until after the Seminole War. However, the complexion of the Seminole as a whole was changed from Atcik-hata or Hitchiti, to Muskogee by the multitudes of refugees which fled to Florida after the Creek War of 1813-14. The later removal to Oklahoma seems to have reversed the situation since more than two-thirds of the Indians now in Florida speak a language of the Hitchiti group.

There is strong evidence that the Chiaha Indians originally spoke Hitchiti and that the Mikasuki of Florida branched off from them, but some early event in their history separated them from the other Atcik-hata and made them allies of the Coweta. This friendship they shared with the Osotci who seem originally to have belonged to the Timucua linguistic group of Florida. To the Upper Creeks were added the distinct but dialectically related Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, while bands of Yamasi and Apalachee were temporarily connected with both Upper and Lower Creeks. The Alabama town of Tawasa seems to have had an origin similar to that of the Osotci. At a very late date the wholly alien Yuchi population was admitted into the Confederation, most of them making their home among the Lower Creeks though there was a small body also among the Upper Creeks. And more divergent still were the Shawnee, from among whom two towns made their homes in Creek territory for several decades during the eighteenth century. One of these probably continued on into the early years of the nineteenth century.

It may be added that towns are known to have changed from one side to the other. Alabama was once a White town closely associated with the Okchai, but later they were affiliated with the Tukabahchee and came to be reckoned as Red. Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Wiwohka are also said to have shifted from one side to the other. In the case of the two last this may be partially explained by the fact that, if we may trust native tradition, they were built up of refugees from other settlements.

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619 621 In former times a certain aloofness was maintained by the towns of one moiety toward those of the other. They did not encourage intermarriage and did not attend each other's annual ceremonies. This latter inhibition is now breaking down and it is claimed that men of all towns attend the busk of Otciapofa. Otciapofa, however, has long occupied an exceptional position. A chief belonging to the Bird clan of this town always delivered the principal speech when a new chief of the Confederation was installed. This town was also the residence of the Creek dictator Alexander McGillivray, and it was here that Crazy Snake, leader of the Creek conservatives, called his important councils. Evidently the functions of the White and Red sides in maintaining peace or bringing on hostilities were formerly of great importance and some White towns, certainly Apalachicola and Coosa, were places of refuge for murderers. The "regular" ball games, as distinguished from practice games, always took place between towns of different sides and the supporters of each town marched to the encounter in much the same spirit as if they were going to war.

101 The principal White towns were: Kasihta, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Yuchi, Abihka, Coosa, Otciapofa, Tulsa, Okfuskee, Okchai (including Łałogälga and Asilanabi), Pakana, Koasati, Tuskegee, and Wiogufki.

The principal Red towns were: Coweta (including Łikatcka), Eufaula, Chiaha, Osochi, Tukabahchee, Łiwahali, Łapłako, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hilibi. Alabama changed from White to Red in the manner described.

614 615 The people of each town were subdivided into clans which were usually named after animals and were invariably perpetuated in the female line. The only clan of importance not named for an animal was the Wind clan and with this the Skunk was closely associated, the Skunk clan having always been linked with it. I obtained the names of over 50 clans but some of these were known to only one or two informants, and a number of others were small and bound into phratral associations with clans of greater prominence. Some clans were considered as equivalents throughout the entire nation. The Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, and Turtle seem always to have been united in one phratry with the Wind; the Wolf and Salt with the Bear; the Pahosa with the Deer; the Wildcat with the Panther; and the Turkey and Tami with the Alligator. In the same way the Snake, Kapitca, and Woksi were almost invariably counted in with the Aktayatci; the Mole, Toad, and Tcikote always went together and were generally allied with the Deer and Pahosa; and the